

The interaction between local authorities and the Kasepuhan

*In relation to the utilisation and management
of traditional wet rice cultivation*



A report for the internship in West-Java, Indonesia

By

B.C. Bolman

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Supervisor: Dianne van Oosterhout

Author: B.C. Bolman
Registration number: 790808092100

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Preface

The basis for this report is a research, conducted in Indonesia. My stay in this wonderful country would not have been possible without the hospitality and help of many people and organisations.

First of all, I would like to thank the people of the *Kasepuhan* for their unlimited friendliness. Eventhough it was not always easy to communicate with each other, the people of the *Kasepuhan* always took plenty of time to explain everything I wanted to know about their interesting lives. Especially the two tribal leaders, Abah Anom and Abah Usep, have been very helpfull in providing usefull information on the *Kasepuhan*. More specifically, I would like to thank Pak Absor and Ibu Rianne and the rest of their family for being great hosts for the four months that I lived with them.

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Bas Bolman

Introduction

This report is the result of an internship combined with a field study for a minor thesis in West-Java, Indonesia. The combined period lasted from November 2004 until the end of February 2005. During these months, I have lived with the people of the *Kasepuhan* and I visited the Agency of Agriculture, Crops and Food (*Dinas Pertanian Tanaman Pangan*) of the district of Sukabumi.

Data has been collected to fulfil two general goals. Firstly, for the internship, this concentrated on the interaction between official local authorities and the people of the *Kasepuhan* in relation to the traditional utilisation of wet rice fields. This took place in the months of November and December 2004. All results can be found in this report. Secondly, data has been gathered for a minor thesis, focusing on the comparison of wet rice cultivation or *sawah* systems in the same area. This research was conducted in the months of January and February 2005. The results can be found in a separate report.

The people of the *Kasepuhan* are living in the area of Gunung Halimun National Park, West-Java (see page 15 for the maps of the research location). Some groups are living inside the Park, some of them just outside the Park and others have spread across West-Java, Java, or other islands of Indonesia in order to adapt to a more modern way of living. In the southern area of Gunung Halimun, the differences between the non-traditional groups and the traditional groups of the *Kasepuhan* are quite diverse.

Contrary to the non-traditional groups, the people of the *Kasepuhan* still follow a traditional way of life. This means, amongst others, living in small houses of wood, bamboo and palm leaves, cooking on fire, and participation in many ceremonies. Another characteristic of the *Kasepuhan* is their self-sufficiency in relation to food. By far the most important crop is rice, which is cultivated in wet and dry forms. The harvest of the dry and the wet fields is for own consumption only, and thus not for sale.

In this report I will focus on the interaction between the official local authorities and the *Kasepuhan*. This interaction will be related to the utilisation and management of traditional wet rice cultivation by the *Kasepuhan*. Below, this focus will be explained by some historical developments, compared to the present situation.

During the Suharto regime (1965-1998), change of 'primitive societies' towards economical development was demanded by the government. With considerable pressure, the centralised government of Suharto exercised these demands in a top-down way. Based on the provisions of the Indonesian Constitution (Basic Forestry Law enacted in 1967) the central government empowered itself to control all relations between the people, the private sector and forests. Article 5 of this law states that, "All forests within the territory of Indonesia, including the natural resources contained therein, are controlled by the state" (Enters et al, 2000:43). Large areas were declared as parks and nature reserves or permanent protection forest in order to exclude people from forests (World Bank, 1993).

Natural resources such as forests are not part of the subject of this report. However, the majority of the *Kasepuhan* of southern Gunung Halimun lives inside the National Park. New villages are being made when the traditional leader decides to move elsewhere, implying the cutting of trees within the National Park, in order to build houses and create new wet rice fields. When the harvest of a wet rice field decreases, the *Kasepuhan* also might decide to clear some rainforest and create new rice fields.

To be more concrete, the centralised policy of economical development implied that the *Kasepuhan* were being put under pressure to decrease their traditional utilisation of wet rice cultivation (one harvest per year) and switch to the commercial utilisation of wet rice cultivation (two or more harvests per year). However, these modernisation attempts did not influence the traditional way of cultivating rice. Other modernisation projects 'succeeded' though, such as the building of roads that were wide enough for cars. Hydro turbines, built in the last years of the Suharto regime, provided more irrigation water and the generating of electricity.

Particularly since the fall of the regime in 1998, decentralisation became a key characteristic within the lower levels of the Indonesian government. In the spirit of *reformasi*, which is associated with the fall of the Suharto regime, there were immense pressures from international institutions on the new government. It was demanded that major reforms were to be made in forest policy, with a strong emphasis on the recognition of the needs of local people (Enters et al, 2000:13).

Through decentralisation, local official authorities were given more tasks and more responsibility. It implied that the interference between the official authorities and the *Kasepuhan* started to take place with a different strategy and on a more regular basis. In short, the *Kasepuhan* were being confronted with official authorities more often than in the past. At the same time, traditional leadership is very important to the *Kasepuhan*. Their traditional leader is the one who decides on many aspects of the utilisation of wet rice fields, for example the timing of irrigation, sowing, and harvesting. He also decides on the methods and techniques that are to be used during the cultivation of wet rice fields.

The question arises then, how the modernisation policy of official authorities has changed – central in the past and decentralised now – the traditional wet rice cultivation by the *Kasepuhan*. If so, how do the people of the *Kasepuhan* deal with the possible pressure of the local official authorities on the one hand, and pressure of their traditional leader on the other hand, considering the utilisation and management of traditional wet rice fields? These questions are the central focus of the report.

This report is structured in the following way. Chapter one consist of a conceptual framework. The concepts that are discussed are tradition, *adat*, legitimacy and decentralisation. Chapter two focuses on the methods and techniques used for the research. First the statement of the problem is described, followed by a description of the research location. After that, we will concentrate on the manner in which data was gathered for this report, with the help observations, interviews and sampling. Chapter three is about the past and the present of the life of the *Kasepuhan*. Since rice is of a very high importance to the *Kasepuhan*, we will focus separately on this issue. Continually, chapter four focuses on the institutional organisation of the Indonesian government, the Agricultural Service Office, and the traditional leadership of the *Kasepuhan*. In the same chapter, the interaction between these institutions is analysed with regard to the utilisation and management of traditional wet rice cultivation. Lastly, in chapter five the theoretical concepts are linked to the field data and literature in order to come to the overall conclusions.

Chapter one

Conceptual framework

1.1 Introduction

In the introduction it was clarified what the main subject is of this report. We are exploring the following question: did the modernisation policy alter the traditional wet rice cultivation of the *Kasepuhan*? If this is the case, how did the modernisation policy change the traditional wet rice cultivation, and how where these changes set in motion by the 'government'? In this perspective, the second relevant question can be raised: is there a certain pressure on the way in which the people of the *Kasepuhan* traditionally cultivate their wet rice fields, caused by the local official authorities on the one hand, and their traditional leader on the other hand?

Official authorities are regarded as *local* official authorities in this report, unless we are dealing with other levels of government. In case of such an exception, it will be made clear *which* other level of government is meant. Naturally there are also several levels of local official authorities. In this report we will only focus on two local governmental institutions, which are *Dinas Pertanian Tanaman Pangan* (Agency of Agriculture, Crops and Food) and the municipality level of government, called 'desa'. In short, the three main groups we are dealing with here are the *Kasepuhan*, consisting of the people and their traditional leader, the official authority of the Agency of Agriculture, and the official authority of the municipality.

In order to answer the central questions, it is essential to clarify some theoretical concepts in relation to traditional leadership and local official government. First, the concept of tradition is explained. It will appear that this definition does not provide enough insight in order to understand the core of the *Kasepuhan* tradition, which is the concept of *adat*. After that, the concept of legitimacy is worked out. Legitimacy can be put into the perspective of traditional leadership, but it can also be put into the perspective of official authority. To explain the theoretical background, the example of traditional leadership is used here. In the next section, an attempt is made to integrate this concept with the previous concepts of tradition and *adat*. Then, the switch is made to local official government, with the help of the concept of decentralisation. The chapter will end with some general conclusions on all concepts. This chapter is written in such way that the concepts are defined separately, but they are also integrated with each other where relevant and possible.

1.2 On the concept of tradition

This definition has been constructed after conversations with some people and experience from the field. The word 'tradition' is of very high importance to the people of the *Kasepuhan*. This can be explained by the meaning of 'Kasepuhan', which comes from the word *sepuh*, meaning 'old'. *Kasepuhan* thus refers to a community or social group in which all the members or the group base their social activities on old or traditional customs (Adimihardja, 1998).

Tradition is knowledge put into practice. It has been passed down from generation to generation in a written or vocal form or in habits. It concerns both material as non-material issues, which are often inextricable connected to each other. Tradition is limited to a specific social group of people in a specific geographical area.

Figure 1.1: Abah Anom (right bottom), the traditional leader of the Kasepuhan, during the "circumcision ceremony" or "Nyalametkeun"



The material and non-material issues that are being passed down have a strong connection with specific values and norms that are significant for this specific social group. The knowledge put into practice is of such significance that this social group is intentionally or non-intentionally maintaining it. The purpose of maintaining is to guarantee the practical survival of this knowledge, the survival of the identity and the way of life in general.

The fact that tradition is limited to a specific social group and a specific geographical area does not mean that tradition is isolated per se. It can be intentionally or unintentionally influenced by other processes. Nor does 'the survival of knowledge' means that tradition is static, on the contrary, it is often dynamic, and also in Indonesia. It is a developing country that is modernising in many ways; tradition is being reshaped into different forms, so that it can be combined with new influences of modernity. In this sense, the dynamic characteristic of tradition is a key explanation for its survival in a new shape.

Handler and Linnekin argue that the concept of tradition must be seen as a symbolic construction. They claim that it is not possible to define tradition in terms of boundedness, givenness or essence. Thus, the concept refers to an interpretive process that embodies both continuity and discontinuity (Handler and Linnekin, 1984:273). Smith also argues that 'traditional' and 'modern' are interpretive rather than descriptive terms, while all cultures are changing continuously. There can only be what is new, although what is new can take on symbolic value as 'traditional' (Smith, 1982 in Handler & Linnekin, 1984:273). Handler & Linnekin also warn scientists to be careful with analysing the concept of tradition without detaching it from the implications of Western common sense, which presumes that an unchanging core of ideas and customs is always handed down from the past (Handler & Linnekin, 1984:286).

The way in which Handler and Linnekin analyse the concept of tradition makes one aware of the fact that tradition is about perception. Thus, one has to acknowledge that a specific social group has a certain perception of its own traditions. Outsiders – e.g. researchers – who visit this social group, also construct their own perception of the traditions of this social group. To explain why tradition is important in the case of the Kasepuhan, the concept of *adat* will be explored below.

1.3 *Adat as a concept to understand tradition*

The word *adat* comes from the Arabic word *ada* and means custom (Wessing, 1977:295). More than one hundred years ago, the Dutch law scientist Van Vollenhoven 'discovered' *adat* and called it *Adatrecht*¹ (Dutch for adat law). He described the concept very extensively, and connected it to traditional legal matters (Hoadley, 2004:15). But *adat* means more than traditional behavioral forms that may have legal implications. The concept also refers to a set of rules by which life on earth is kept in harmony with the

¹ For a full review on the work of Van Vollenhoven, consult the book by Holleman (1981).

cosmic design (Wessing, 1977:295). The *Kasepuhan* are part of the ethnic group of Sundanese people, living in West-Java. Just as the Sundanese people, the *Kasepuhan* see all elements of the cosmos, whether material or non-material as an integrated aspect of power.

This power is described by Anderson as 'concrete, homogenous, constant in total quantity and without inherent moral implications as such' (Anderson, 1972 in Wessing, 1977:295). Therefore, cosmos may be seen as a container of this power since the cosmos is the totality of all the material and non-material elements and entities in existence. Since these elements are integrated with cosmic power to varying degrees, the totality of the cosmic contained in these elements is the totality of the power in the cosmos (Wessing, 1977:295).

Hidding has pointed out that life in West-Java must be seen as participation in this cosmic order in which the *adat*, which includes all the customs, rituals obligations and *bujuts* (taboos), is a guide to proper behaviour. Therefore, the first responsibility of an individual is to know the *adat* and live by it (Hidding, 1948 in Wessing, 1977:295).

The rules of the *adat* are said to have been laid down by the ancestors. They are seen as instrumental in maintaining the cosmic balance and thus the order of life. Thus, *adat* must be seen as a set of sacred rules, which are the heritage of the accumulated knowledge of the ancestors of preceding generations of a social group. The totality of this knowledge is, of course, not known by each individual, but is maintained in the community as the collective knowledge of its members (Wessing, 1977:296). Indeed, as has been stated above in the part on the concept of tradition, this knowledge which is being put into practice can be maintained intentionally or non-intentionally. Concluding, *adat* can be defined as a set of sacred rules which are to be maintained (Wessing, 1977:296).

Now the concept of *adat* is clarified, one can understand better that for a traditional social group of Sunda people, the legitimacy to rule over a group of people is first and foremost being granted by the ancestors, who laid down the rules of *adat*. Consequently, the concept of legitimacy will be worked out in more detail below. Note that the three concepts of tradition, *adat*, and legitimacy are analysed in the context of traditional communities and not in the context of official authorities.

1.4 Explaining the concept of legitimacy

The *Kasepuhan* base the acceptance of a leader on very different ideas compared to Western standards. The ancestors have laid down the rules for *adat*. This also implies that their leader is 'being laid down' or chosen by the ancestors. In short, he is a descendant of the 'Almighty'. In practice, this means that the central leadership of the *Kasepuhan* has been within the same bloodline for centuries. Partly, this is comparable to an aristocrat landlord in the Middle Ages. This is – at least in a certain way – contrary to the Western perception of the legitimacy to rule.

The paragraph above is a rather complex mixture of the three concepts of tradition, *adat* and legitimacy. The last concept has not been defined yet. To unravel this complex mixture, the concept of legitimacy will now be separately analysed, so that we can relate the mixture of tradition, *adat* and legitimacy better to the specific situation of the *Kasepuhan*².

² The concept of *adat* is applicable to the Sunda people of West-Java and more specifically to small traditional communities. Thus, the situation of the *Kasepuhan* does not have to be unique per se.

Explaining the concept of legitimacy is rather complicated since many authors use different definitions. First we will set some boundaries around the concept. In this case, legitimacy will be reflected on a traditional social group. Other institutions, for example those who are connected to official authorities are not being dealt with here.

Bodansky has written several interesting articles on the concept of legitimacy. He explains legitimacy as being:

“The justification of authority – the authority, for example, of legislatures to prescribe legal rules or of courts to decide cases. Legitimate authority simply means ‘justified authority’, and can be related to specify what factors might serve as justifications – for example legality, democracy, rationality or tradition” (Bodansky, 1999:601)

To put this explanation in other words, legitimacy is the acceptance by people of authority. Again, authority cannot be seen here as official authority, but has to be seen as traditional authority. It is also essential to note that legitimacy in this sense has no relation with the question whether this authority is ‘good’ or ‘bad’. It does have a strong relation however with the question *why* people *accept* traditional authority.

Furthermore, the concept of legitimacy can have a sociological and a normative dimension. The sociological dimension refers to popular attitudes to traditional authority. Thus, the more positive the people’s attitudes about the traditional authority’s right to rule, the greater its popular legitimacy. The normative dimension applies to whether a claim of traditional authority is well founded – whether it is justified in some objective sense (Bodansky, 1999:601).

The concept of legitimacy is explained by giving an example, i.e. how the people of the *Kasepuhan* accept and justify their traditional leader. However, it is also possible to put the concept of legitimacy in another perspective. If we look at the interaction between local official authorities and the people of the *Kasepuhan*, it is also relevant to look at the way in which the people of the *Kasepuhan* and their leader are accepting official authority. Thus, legitimacy is a concept that can be applied on traditional leadership, but also on official authority, from municipality level to national government. For now, it is not necessary to apply the concept of legitimacy to official authority, since the conceptual framework will be combined with field data in chapter five.

1.5 Integrating the concepts of tradition, *adat* and legitimacy

With the explanation of the concept of legitimacy, one can connect this concept once again to the concept of *adat*, which was described above. *Adat* has been defined as ‘a set of sacred rules which are to be maintained’. The combination of both concepts helps us in understanding the way in which the people of the *Kasepuhan* accept their traditional leadership. For the *Kasepuhan*, both the traditional leader as the traditional rules he maintains are literally laid down by their ancestors.

The conclusion must be that the legitimacy of the traditional policy and the traditional leader does not depend on the quality and content of the policy that is executed by the leader. Both the traditional leader as his traditional policy are being chosen by the ancestors. Thus, the leader of the *Kasepuhan* and his policy are granted with a very high level of legitimacy. Now we can fully understand why the people of the *Kasepuhan* do not openly discuss issues related to the questioning of the legitimacy of their leader. Justification of the leadership within the *Kasepuhan* community is therefore determined by their own tradition.

The concepts of tradition, *adat*, and legitimacy in relation to the *Kasepuhan* are explained now. However, the main subject of the report is the interaction between local government and the *Kasepuhan*. Therefore we will now focus on the relevant issues considering the official local government. This will be done with the help of the concept of decentralisation, in relation to the traditional utilisation and management of wet rice cultivation.

1.6 *Decentralisation in relation to traditional wet rice cultivation*

As has become clear by now, the focus of this report is the interaction between local government and the *Kasepuhan*. More specifically, we are researching if the modernisation policy of official authorities has altered the traditional wet rice cultivation of the *Kasepuhan*. In this respect, it is important to underline the way in which Indonesia has been governed in the past, and how it is governed today. This way of analysing makes it possible to understand the changes that Indonesia has experienced. The fall of the Suharto regime might have had severe impact. One of the core elements of his centralised policy was to develop 'primitive societies', e.g. the social group of the *Kasepuhan*, but also many other 'primitive' groups throughout the archipelago of Indonesia. From 1998 onwards (with the fall of the Suharto regime), Indonesia has faced a less and less centralised government. In other words, if one wants to understand the changes in the way of governing in Indonesia one has to analyse the concept of decentralisation.

Before we start to define the concept of decentralisation, a comment has to be made. Throughout the world, decentralisation has become a 'fashionable' concept for Western institutions, in order to help and develop less developed countries. Therefore, the concept of decentralisation was often associated with something 'good', or in other words, it was associated with helping the poor. Quite recently, the scientific world has become increasingly sceptic about the promises of decentralisation. Quite some scientific reports included some very critical notes on the effects of decentralisation. In some cases, it was even found that the intentional effects of decentralisation were totally the opposite³. Many examples of projects in less developed countries show that decentralisation can be misused by governments in order to extend their executing power. In many practical circumstances, the well-meant theoretical ideals are less successful than expected. Having made a critical note, we can now make the step to define the concept of decentralisation.

Decentralisation is defined by Crook and Manor (1998, in Ribot, 1999b) as:

"The process through which packages of entrustments, including regulating and executing powers, responsibility and authority in making choices, institutional infrastructure and assets, and administrative capacity, are being passed on to local groups or, in other words, local authorities or communities."

Subsequently, the question can be raised what the meaning is of *entrustment* and *assets*. Entrustment is being used by Mandondo (2000:2) to refer to the size and capacity of the package of powers, responsibilities and authority that is being transferred from one level of social organisation to the other. Assets are to be regarded as 'goods',

³ See for example the publication by Ribot (1999a) on decentralisation and natural resource management.

such as natural capital, physical capital, human capital, financial capital and substitutions, and social capital (Ellis, 2000:8).

Decentralisation thus refers to a national government, which increasingly transfers power and responsibility to governments on a lower level, e.g. local governments. Decentralisation can be applied to many fields of official policy. In this case, it is applied to the way in which local official authorities are trying to influence the traditional utilisation and management of wet rice cultivation.

The general idea behind decentralisation in this domain is that local communities know how to cultivate their land in a 'durable' way. In many cases, they have build up their knowledge for many centuries. This knowledge sometimes even dates from before the start of the Western colonisation period, which is about 500 years ago. Assuming this 'perfect situation' exists, one can ask why such local communities are able to cultivate their land in a quite durable manner. It is because they know that if something happens to their resources, they will directly feel the consequences.

In the case of the *Kasepuhan*, the colonisation period of the Dutch has not really affected their traditional way of cultivating we rice fields, nor the forms of local traditional leadership. Many respondents from the *Kasepuhan* even claimed that there was a quite well functioning cooperation between the *Kasepuhan* on the one hand, and the local Dutch government on the other hand. An example of this cooperation was the introduction of cement, a building material that was unknown by the *Kasepuhan*. In how far these answers were socially desirable because of the fact that the interviewer was Dutch too has yet to be verified.

The Dutch claimed – in terms of their policy as a coloniser – to possess the rights to land, including agrarian land and all natural resources. In many cases however, they could not bear the practical consequences of this policy. Soumaré (1998, in Onibon et al, 1995:95) calls this situation 'non-functioning legality'. Local authorities officially lost their rights to decide about access to cultivated agricultural areas. However, many of these local authorities stayed very much involved in the utilisation and management of wet rice fields. Naturally, this involvement was in fact illegal. One could call this 'double government' (Soumaré 1998, in Onibon et al, 1995:95), implicating that two different institutions were maintaining different laws and different rules on the same physical object.

As has been mentioned above, it has to be stated that implementing decentralisation does certainly not always happen without trouble, especially if we zoom out to global level. In many cases, new levels of local authorities are being created. Although these local authorities are often democratically chosen, they remain separated of the local community, which is sometimes causing conflicts with traditional local authorities. As has been stated before, traditional leadership often still exists, but they are often declared illegal by this new official local authority. Thus, history actually repeats itself in the form of 'contemporary double government'. Apart from that, local official authorities are often not as powerful as they should be. The fact is that many local authorities are barely allowed to make decisions. Thus, the practical implementation of decentralisation policies appears to go hand in hand with quite some difficulties. A national government is simply not always prepared to decrease their control.

1.7 Conclusions

In this chapter, we have explained the relevant concepts in relation to the changing modernisation policy of official authorities regarding the traditional wet rice cultivation by the *Kasepuhan*.

Three concepts have been described that are relevant to understand the *Kasepuhan* and the way in which their leader rules the community. The first concept is tradition, which is defined as knowledge and customs of a specific social group that have been passed down from generation to generation, for the survival of the same knowledge and customs, and the survival of the identity of this social group in general. The second concept is *adat*, which is defined as 'a set of sacred rules which are to be maintained'. Third, there is the concept of legitimacy, which has been defined as the 'acceptance of (traditional) authority'. The combination between these three concepts has given us an insight in the way in which the *Kasepuhan* perceive the status of their traditional leader. The legitimacy of the traditional policy and the traditional leader does not depend on the quality and content of the policy that is executed by the leader, since they are determined by *adat*, which is again defined by the ancestors. Thus, the leader of the *Kasepuhan* and his policy are granted with a very high level of legitimacy from the perspective of the *Kasepuhan* people. Therefore, the justification of the leadership within the *Kasepuhan* community almost has a fixed status. Consequently, the justification of traditional leadership by the people of the *Kasepuhan* is determined by their own tradition. It does not mean however, that it is not possible to leave the *Kasepuhan* community and build up a new existence somewhere else, in the event of people being dissatisfied with their traditional leader.

The leaders of the *Kasepuhan* on the one hand, and the official local authority on the other hand, do interact on quite a regular basis. Consequently, the concept of decentralisation has also been worked out, in relation to local official government. Decentralisation refers to a national government, which increasingly transfers power and responsibility to governments on a lower level, e.g. local governments. Examples from less developed countries in different continents show that decentralisation often goes together with new levels of local authority that are being created. This can cause conflicts with local traditional authorities. Traditional leadership often still exists, but they are sometimes declared illegal by this new official local authority. In such a situation, two different local authorities – the official one and the traditional one – are maintaining different (traditional) laws and different (traditional) rules on the same physical object. We have called this situation 'contemporary double government'. The applicability to the research area and the research population of the concept of contemporary double government will be concluded in chapter five.

Chapter two

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the methods of research will be explained in more detail. First, the statement of the problem will be described, followed by the research questions. The section will focus on the research location, and the different forms of observations that were used. The section will be concluded with the methods of interviewing and sampling.

2.2 Statement of the problem

This has already been shortly explained in the introduction of the report. The general point of interest is the changing modernisation policy of official authorities and the effects on traditional wet rice cultivation by the *Kasepuhan*.

Between 1965 and 1998 Suharto's administration had a strong influence on the Indonesian society, even on very remote regions. It was clear that power over the people was exercised top down. Less developed social groups had to become modernised by the centralised policy of Suharto. This policy was implemented in a very broad sense: it applied to many aspects of the life of traditional groups such as the *Kasepuhan*. Concrete examples are influences on the fields of infrastructure, transport, and agriculture, with a special reference to the cultivation of wet rice fields. Instead of being self sufficient in the production of rice, traditional groups such as the *Kasepuhan* were put under great pressure to switch to rice as a commodity product. From the perspective of the centralised government, this would bring more money in circulation and more economical development. Moreover, Indonesia wanted (and still wants) to be self-sufficient in rice, implicating that the production of rice has to be as high as possible.

After the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998, decentralisation became a key characteristic within many levels of government in Indonesia. However, it did not imply the disappearance of the modernisation policy. The influence from official authorities on traditional groups to modernise their way of cultivating rice fields shifted to other specific aspects. No longer did official authorities try to change the complete traditional system. They started to focus on the details of the methods and techniques that were being used by the *Kasepuhan*. This can be explained by the decreasing pressure from high levels of government on local authorities to change the traditional cultivation of *sawah* systems. Furthermore, the comprehensive manner in which the central government of Suharto tried to alter the traditional cultivation did not have a significant impact.

With these developments described, we can now construct the research questions:

1. Did the modernisation policy of the Indonesian authorities alter the traditional wet rice cultivation of the *Kasepuhan*?
2. If this is the case, how did the modernisation policy change the traditional wet rice cultivation, and how were these changes set in motion by the 'government'?
3. Is there a certain pressure on the way in which the people of the *Kasepuhan* traditionally cultivate their wet rice fields, caused by the local official authorities on the one hand, and their traditional leader on the other hand?

2.3 The research location

Two issues will be discussed in this section. Firstly, a general description is given of the circumstances in the field. Secondly, some arguments are given for choosing this research location.

The specific village in which the research was done is Ciptarasa, which means so much as 'increasing the feeling' in the Indonesian language. This village (*desa*) is located in the sub district (*kecamatan*) of Cikakak, the district (*kabupaten*) of Sukabumi, and the province (*provinsi*) of West-Java. The closest significant town is a two hour drive towards the Indian Ocean, which is called Pelabuhanratu. An important note to make here is that Ciptarasa is situated inside the National Park of Gunung Halimun (see figure 2.3 below). This implies that the inhabitants of this village have to comply with the official regulations that are set up for National Parks, considering the utilisation of wet rice fields. Creating a new *sawah* in this area, or extracting wood from the rainforest for building houses, has (at least officially) to be done in consultation with local governmental institutions such as the Agency of Agriculture, Crops and Food and the Agency of Agriculture and Forestry.



Figure 2.1: Indonesia, with a focus on Java



Figure 2.2: Java, with the research location in the southwest



Figure 2.3: Ciptarasa, the research location

The village of Ciptarasa exist of about one hundred people, living from small scale agriculture. It is only one of tens of other small villages. Most of them are 'Kasepuhan villages', other villages are mixed, and some other village do not have Kasepuhan inhabitants at all.

The research area was not limited to the borders of Ciptarasa. Other, comparable villages were also visited, in order to cross check data.

During the research period I stayed with a family in a small house made of wood and palm leaves, like all other

houses of Ciptarasa. The owner of the house was Pak Absor, an employee of the Forest Department of Indonesia.

There are several reasons for choosing this research location. One of them is that it offered an opportunity to do research on a small traditional society, while large cities such as Sukabumi, Bogor and Jakarta are still relatively close. Indeed, the location was remote, but it also offered the possibility to be back into the city if necessary.

It is also quite surprising that despite Java is immensely crowded – it has a population of 110

million people – a number of small traditional societies still exist today. This is very interesting, because Indonesia faces modernisation trends like many other less developed countries. An interesting subject to look at is what happens with traditional customs in general when a country is modernising, and more specifically what happens with small traditional societies. In this perspective one can wonder if these traditions are still the same as before the modernisation era, or that these traditions are changing or even disappearing. Modernisation trends can be explained in many ways, for example by globalisation, possibilities for economic growth, etc. Governments can influence these modernisation trends. In the case of local governments, a relevant example could be the promotion and introduction of new technologies for agriculture.

2.4 Observations

When I arrived in the village of Ciptarasa I was only able to speak the Indonesian language in a very limited way. Moreover, the area of the Kasepuhan is part of the Sundanese speaking population of West-Java. In contrast with the Indonesian language, the Sundanese language is a very old one, which exists for hundreds of years. Quite surprisingly, these languages are not alike at all. Indeed, an individual from East-Java, speaking the Indonesian language cannot understand an individual from West-Java who is speaking Sundanese. In general the people of the Kasepuhan are bilingual, but elderly people are not; they can only speak Sundanese.

Given these facts, observations as a research method become more important. Especially in the beginning of the research period, the composition of the field notes depended more on the things I saw, than the things I heard.

2.5 Interviews

After approximately one month I was able to have conversations with the people of the Kasepuhan on different kind of topics. Naturally, these topics were still rather simple, because of my limited understanding of the Indonesian language. This made it possible to increasingly use interviews as a research method.

In the beginning of the research unstructured interviews were used as a basis for a general exploration. The reason for this is to gain trust from the research population, in this case the Kasepuhan. Unstructured interviews offer an opportunity to achieve this while they are open-ended and rather informal. Later on, when I started to roughly understand the topic of research, semi-structured interviews were used. In this case short lists of the themes or subjects that I wanted to know were used as a guide.

An important note has to be made here. I found the people of the Kasepuhan very hard to understand in relation to consistency in their answers. It happened many times that people gave contradicting answers. Sometimes certain topics can be a taboo, or people tend to give answers that are socially desirable according to their opinion. For a researcher in search of 'the true story', this is very hard to deal with. Gradually one learns to adapt to this problem, which can be done with the cross-checking of answers. However, it also means that extra time has to be invested in some important topics.

Another relevant note is to visit the same respondent more than once. In general individuals are gradually going to trust the interviewer. In many cases the second interview with the same respondent resulted in more in-depth answers than the first interview.

About thirty percent of the interviews that took place were face to face with only one individual. Seventy percent existed of group interviews, ranging from two individuals

until six individuals. The advantage of group interviews is very clear, while the problem of contradicting answers mentioned above is limited because of the presence of other individuals. It also offers an opportunity to get more information on a topic than with one individual. However, there are also disadvantages, while some individuals in a group are more concentrated than others, and some are more interested in a topic than other individuals are. In short, chances are higher of people starting a totally different conversation.

Both individual and group interviews also have a common disadvantage, which is the likeliness of socially desirable answers. The habit of many Indonesian people to be very polite to their guests can sometimes result in answers that are also very polite. Consequently, an interviewer runs the risk of writing down answers that are adjusted to the things that he or she 'might want to hear' according to the perception of the respondents and the people that are present during the interview.

2.6 *Sampling*

Since the social cohesion of the *Kasepuhan* is rather high, I used snowball sampling in many cases. After almost each interview I asked if the respondent knew another person on the same topic or on a different topic. Especially in the early stages of the research this usually resulted in at least two or three new respondents. The disadvantage of snowball sampling is when it concerns a narrow topic, of which only a few individuals know about. Very soon, it is not possible anymore to find new informants. On the other hand, snowball sampling works perfectly well in relation to more general subjects of which many individuals have knowledge. A last disadvantage of snowball sampling is connected with the statement that has been made above on the likeliness of socially desirable answers. In the case of snowball sampling, respondents can direct the interviewer to 'socially desirable persons', both from the perspective of the respondent as from the perspective of the interviewer. The opposite can also be true, that the initial respondent avoids mentioning other important key respondents, for example because their social relation is not that well. In short, with snowball sampling the interviewer might run the risk of not talking to certain important key respondents.

2.7 *Conclusion*

In this chapter the statement of the research problem has been specified, together with the exact research location, the way in which interviews were being held, and how the respondents for these interviews were selected.

The goal of the report is to explore if the modernisation policy of the Indonesian authorities have altered the traditional wet rice cultivation of the *Kasepuhan*. If so, how are these changes set in motion by the authorities? Lastly, the report focuses on the possible pressure on the people of the *Kasepuhan*, practised by the local official authorities on the one hand, and their traditional leader on the other hand, with regard to the traditional utilisation of wet rice cultivation by the *Kasepuhan*.

Chapter three

The life of the Kasepuhan

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter a general description will be given of the life of the *Kasepuhan*. First, a historical analysis will be given of the *Kasepuhan*. Continuing, a short socio-economical analysis will be presented. Since *padi* is highly important for the people of the *Kasepuhan*, this chapter also deals with the practical and symbolic meanings of *padi*. The chapter will be closed with some general conclusions. Lastly, it has to be mentioned that almost all information provided in this chapter is totally based on oral information.

3.2 Past and present of the life of the Kasepuhan

The *Kasepuhan* are a group of about 5300 people living in the area of southern Gunung Halimun, in the province of West-Java, within the borders of *kabupaten* Sukabumi, Bogor and also southern Banten. The general group of the *Kasepuhan* is split up into three subgroups: the first group is situated around the village of Ciptagelar, the second group around the village of Cicadas, and the third group around the village of Cisungsang. Each group has its own tribal leader or *Kepala Suku* (Indonesian language) or *Sesepuh Girang* (Sunda language). For Ciptagelar the *Sesepuh Girang* is Abah Encup alias Abah Anom, for Cicadas it is Abah Asep, for Cisungsang it is Abah Usep. Both Abah Anom and Abah Asep are family members. By the time of writing this report it is still unclear whether Abah Usep also belongs to this family. Respondents within the social group of the *Kasepuhan* Ciptagelar, cannot give accurate information about Abah Usep. It is clear however, that the groups of Ciptagelar and Cicadas regard Cisungsang as a separated group. Consequently, there is little communication between Ciptagelar and Cicadas on the one hand and Cisungsang on the other hand. Moreover, there is also some friction between the villages of Ciptagelar and Cicadas. For the explanation of this situation, it is necessary to mention some developments considering since Abah Arjo passed away in 1982.



Figure 3.1: Community house of the Kasepuhan

Abah Arjo was the traditional leader of the whole *Kasepuhan* community, including Cicadas and Cisungsang. After he passed away, a struggle for leadership arose between the sons of Abah Arjo, two of them being Abah Anom and Abah Asep. In the tradition of the *Kasepuhan*, the oldest son does not necessarily inherit the leadership of his father. In other words, the father chooses the son he believes to become the best leader for the *Kasepuhan*. Both Abah Anom and Abah Asep claim that their father chose them to be the next leader of the *Kasepuhan*. From 1982 until the end of the field research in February 2005, the conflict about this issue still exists. An inquiry among non-*Kasepuhan* respondents resulted in the claim that Abah Anom is the true leader of the whole *Kasepuhan* community, without a single exception. Moreover, most respondents did not even know about the existence of a 'second Abah' let alone the

existence of a 'third Abah'. The situation became even more complex during a key interview with Abah Asep from Cicadas. He claimed that his father granted him the full leadership of the *Kasepuhan*. For this report, it is not important to know who the real leader of the *Kasepuhan* is. However, we are now able to understand why the *Kasepuhan* in the southern area of Gunung Halimun are not to be seen as one group, but as different groups, with different leaders and different claims of leadership.

As mentioned in chapter two, the location for this research is situated close to Ciptagelar in the *kampung* (village) of Ciptarasa. All research data gathered comes from this area. It might be possible that some data is specific for this subgroup of *Kasepuhan*. Therefore, the reader of this report has to keep in mind that the data provided might not be generalized to the other two subgroups. From now on I will use the word *Kasepuhan* instead of *Kasepuhan Ciptagelar*.

The way of life of the *Kasepuhan* is still traditional; however modernization and globalization do have an influence on the lifestyle of these people. In short, they are not isolated from the rest of Java and Indonesia. To understand the present way of life of the *Kasepuhan*, it is necessary to explain some of their history.

According to unverified oral information, derived from several semi-structured interviews, the *Kasepuhan* have lived in this area for about 560 years. Around the year 1430 the ancestors of the *Kasepuhan* were said to be still living in the area of Bogor, west of Gunung Halimun. At that time, there were also several *Pajajaran* kingdoms in West-Java, for example in Banten (just east from Jakarta), but also in Bogor. The people of the *Pajajaran* also followed Hindu as their main religion, but combined this with animism and Sunda tradition.

More detailed information about the history of the *Kasepuhan* was provided by Abah Anom, the tribal leader of the area. According to the written genealogy of his family, the first generation of *Sesepuh Girang* of the total group of *Kasepuhan* was Bao Rosa, living in the *kampung* of Cipatat, *kabupaten* Bogor. He was born in the year 1648, and died in the year 1748. Abah Anom, the present *Sesepuh Girang* belongs to the eight generation. During the interview however, he stressed that there were possibly three up to ten more generations of *Sesepuh Girang* before Bao Rosa. Talking about these ancient leaders is an absolute taboo for all members of the *Kasepuhan*, because they are regarded as descendants from the *Karuhun*. This word is used by the *Kasepuhan* for ancient tribal leaders who have been given power directly by 'The Almighty' of the *Pajajaran*.

As mentioned above, the *Pajajaran* practiced Hindu as a main religion, coming from India to Java around 700 AD. The people who belonged to the *Pajajaran* obligated themselves to continually upgrade their knowledge about cosmos, earth, water, etc. But foremost, they were occupied by studying the tiger. Indeed, to obtain full 'tiger knowledge' or *ilmu macan* was the higher goal of life of the *Pajajaran*. In fact, nowadays still many Indonesians claim that these people were actually half tiger and half human, considering the knowledge in their brain (not from outside)⁴.

That the *Pajajaran* were indeed living in West-Java and also in the area of Gunung Halimun might be proved by the four megalith sites in the area of southern Gunung Halimun. However, it must be said that the origin of these sites is still rather mystical, even after much archeological research.

⁴ See for more information on the importance of tigers for cultures in Southeast Asia the work of Wessing, 1986.

According to the *Kasepuhan*, their ancestors living in the area of Bogor around the year 1430, were also followers of the *Pajajaran* culture. But it has yet to be explained why the ancestors of the *Kasepuhan* left their living space and decided to move to the area of Gunung Halimun.

It seems hypothetically and historically right to claim that the ancestors were probably escaping from Islam missionaries. However, I have not been able to verify this hypothesis by literature. Very interesting is indeed that many people, both *Kasepuhan* and *non-Kasepuhan* claim that not only their ancestors, but also the ancestors of the *Baduy*⁵ (area of Banten) were escaping from Islam. Even more interesting is the claim from the same people that the *Baduy* and the *Kasepuhan* actually have the same ancestors.

Nowadays the *Kasepuhan* are already influenced by Islam religion. This does not mean that they follow pure Islam. As their ancestors, they have combined several traditions and religions into their own *Kasepuhan* tradition. Nevertheless, the *Kasepuhan* are influenced by Islam, Sunda tradition, *Pajajaran* tradition and thus Hindu, and also animism. In fact, it has been confirmed by many respondents – both *Kasepuhan* as *non-Kasepuhan* – that all three *Sesepuh Girang* of the *Kasepuhan* are still fully *Pajajaran*, and thus they are claimed to have full understanding of *ilmu macan*. Each village has also its own specific leader, which are direct family members of the *Sesepuh Girang*. Also these leaders are said to have *ilmu macan*.

For the research, it is not very important whether Abah Anom really has *ilmu macan*, or really is *Pajajaran*. The fact is that it has a large impact on way of life of the *Kasepuhan* people. They believe that their *Sesepuh Girang* is indeed able to read their minds, exercise black magic as well as white magic, tell the future, influence the weather and many more other things. Acting in conflict with traditional rules or *adat*, can cause some very negative consequences, according to the perception of the people of the *Kasepuhan*. As a result, the belief in the powers of their traditional leader influences the behaviour of all members of the *Kasepuhan*.

A new era started around the year 1987. In this year the three year lasting projects to create roads were finished. Before, there were only small forest tracks to travel from one village or *kampung* to the other. From 1987 onwards, these tracks were transformed into roads of approximately two and a half meters wide. The materials used for building the roads were rocks, found in the area. Thus, from 1987 onwards transportation with cars and motorcycles to most of the *Kasepuhan kampungs* was possible. In short, 1987 was the beginning of a local modernization era for the *Kasepuhan*.

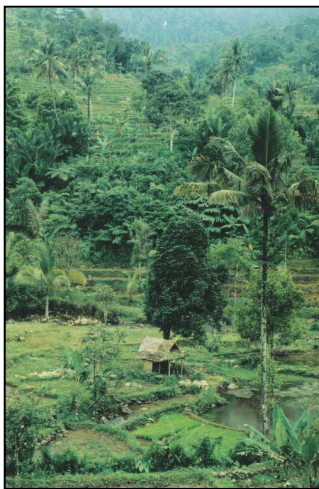
The impact of this new era was enlarged by projects for hydro turbines in order to generate electricity. In the area of Ciptagelar, these projects were finished in 1997 with three turbines, each having a capacity of 60,000 watt. They replaced the generators in all the *kampungs* which had an average capacity of 4,000 watt. In all three projects, generating electricity was combined with irrigation systems. This implies that the *sawahs* are irrigated from 09.00 am until 16.00 pm, and electricity is being generated from 16.00 pm until 09.00 am. During the heat of the morning sun, the *sawahs* can be irrigated so that there is enough water for the *padi* to grow. When it becomes dark it becomes colder too, so the water on the *sawahs* does not evaporate very quickly. Another positive consequence of the hydro turbines is that some areas that were not suitable due to a lack of water could now be irrigated.

⁵ The *Baduy* are comparable to the *Kasepuhan*, except that a part of the *Baduy* people is still isolated. Therefore, they do not have or use any form of modern technology.

Both the widening of roads and the installation of hydro turbines in the area of the *Kasepuhan* did indeed have a large impact. From 1997, there was enough electricity for everyone. Those who had some money were able to buy a television or radio and transportation of such products was no longer a problem. However, it must be said that modern products like televisions and radios are still rather rare in the area. So there is some slow circulation of money in the villages of the *Kasepuhan*. This money is earned by selling handicrafts to tourists, or selling household products from a little shop (*warung*).

Now the history as well as the leadership of the *Kasepuhan* has been shortly analysed, the step can be made to describe the daily way of life of these people. By far the most important for the *Kasepuhan* to maintain their lives is agriculture. This can be split up into three categories: *sawah* (*padi*, wet rice cultivation), *ladang* (*padi*, dry rice cultivation) and *kebun* (garden). *Sawahs* as well as *ladangs* can be owned privately, but can also be owned by the *Sesepuh Girang*. Next, *kebuns* can be owned privately by a family, by several families, or by the community. Practically a *kebun komunitas* is being owned by the *Sesepuh Girang* too. Therefore, the people who use the *kebuns komunitas* are obligated to handover a certain part of their harvest to the *Sesepuh Girang*. This is a social gift, which means that there is no fixed percentage which much be given to the *Sesepuh Girang*.

Furthermore, there are specific characteristics of the agricultural systems of the *Kasepuhan*. First of all, the *sawah* system is only being used one time a year, with only one harvest. Utilisation of sawahs happens in the wet season, lasting from the beginning of October until the end of April. The rest of the year, the sawah is either not used at all, or it is being used for the cultivation of fish. Second, the tradition of the *Kasepuhan* does



not allow any usage of pesticides and herbicides in *sawahs*, *ladangs* and *kebuns*. However, some people do use fertilizers in combination with natural compost or humus. Third, the harvest from agriculture is for the feeding of the *Kasepuhan* people themselves, and not for sale. Only a small percentage of the harvest might be used to exchange food for shoes or clothes etc.

In the paragraph below, the importance of *padi* or rice to the people of the *Kasepuhan* is being analysed in more detail. The goal for the final thesis is to compare the traditional (one time harvest per year) with the *sawah* system of two times per year. However, the data for these two systems is not yet fully complete. Therefore this report will only focus on exploring the practical and symbolic meaning of *padi* to the *Kasepuhan*.

Figure 3.2: Sawahs in the mountains of National Park Gunung Halimun

3.3 Practical and symbolic meanings of *padi* to the *Kasepuhan*

The cultivation of *padi* by the *Kasepuhan* influences many aspects of the life of the *Kasepuhan*. There are numerous ceremonies related to this cultivation, varying from festivals for thousands of people, until small, private ceremonies during the planting of the new *padi*. It is not a coincidence that the ultimate symbol for the *Kasepuhan* is the *leuit*, a small hut made from bamboo and palm leaves, to store *padi* (see front cover). Every family of the *Kasepuhan* who own *sawahs*, also owns one or more *leuit*.

During many semi-structured interviews I asked the people of the *Kasepuhan* about their practical and symbolic perception around the importance of rice to their daily lives. It appeared that there are three main explanations.

First, there is the practical explanation. Rice is by far the most important food for the *Kasepuhan*, as well as for almost every other inhabitant of Indonesia. People eat rice as a main part of their menu three times a day, often combined with vegetables and fish. Thus, during the interviews, the first answer was that 'rice fills your stomach, you simply need it to stay alive'.

The second explanation is less practical, however very important. Many respondents claimed that eating rice, especially from a new harvest, is 'filling your body with happiness'. The *Kasepuhan* feel that from the moment they can eat the rice, the six months of hard working on the *sawahs* is being fully rewarded. During half a year, people invested the largest part of their time and energy in the sowing, irrigation, maintenance and harvest of the rice. Eating rice they cultivated themselves, is indeed experienced by the *Kasepuhan* as full happiness.

The third and last explanation is even more symbolic. Eating rice for the *Kasepuhan*, means becoming one with everything; the ground, the cosmos, the water, wind and fire. The *Kasepuhan* experience eating rice as the true integration of human beings with the four elements, the cosmos and the immaterial with the material.



Figure 3.3: Before the *sawah* is being used, a traditional custom called 'Tebar' has to be carried out

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the life of the *Kasepuhan* has been analysed. The historical analysis provides an explanation for the complexity of the *Kasepuhan* tradition. As has been mentioned, their tradition exists of a unique mixture of animism, Hindu, Sunda traditions, and Islam. The description of the way of life of the *Kasepuhan* as it is nowadays has made clear that this social group is not living isolated from the rest of Java and Indonesia. Although their society has to be regarded as 'traditional', modernisation influences do have an impact. Those few people who can afford a television can now see, with their own eyes, how life is in the 'big city'. And they do certainly not always realise that it is a perfect image that does not exist. Furthermore, motorcycles and fourwheeldrives make the *Kasepuhan* far more mobile than they used to be. And thus, the 'dream' of going to the big city can be put into practice.

Nevertheless, the traditional way of cultivating *sawahs* still exists. Just as they did centuries ago, the *Kasepuhan* still only have one harvest a year, without using pesticides and herbicides. Thus, rice can be regarded as the ultimate core of the *Kasepuhan* tradition. Over the past centuries their tradition has been reshaped over and over again, but their material and spiritual connection to the *sawahs* and rice has stayed the same.

Chapter four

Local authorities and traditional leadership

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, the life of the *Kasepuhan* has been described. It became clear that the traditional way of cultivating *sawahs* is an essential part of their existence. Now we have an impression of their way of living, we can focus on the institutions that exist around the utilisation of *sawah* systems by the people of the *Kasepuhan*.

Considering local official authorities, two institutions are relevant to describe here. First, there is the official level of the municipality, or *desa*. Second, there is the Agency of Agriculture, Crops and Food (*Dinas Pertanian Tanaman Pangan*), that communicates with *Kasepuhan* and non-*Kasepuhan* farmers about agricultural issues. An exception is the organisation around the irrigation of *sawahs*, which is done by an official of the municipality.

To explain the interaction between local official authorities and the traditional leader of the *Kasepuhan*, it is necessary to describe the three institutions separately first. After that, we will focus on the interaction between these institutions.

The chapter is divided in the following sections. First, the official level of the municipality will be shortly described. Second, the local Agency of Agriculture is described. This is specifically relevant considering the influence by official local authority, in relation to the utilisation of *sawah* systems. Third, we will focus on traditional leadership, and what this leadership means for the traditional way of cultivating *sawahs*. Lastly, we will concentrate on the three institutions together, in order to understand the interaction between local authority and the *Kasepuhan* in relation to the traditional cultivation of *sawah* systems.

4.2 Local official authority: the municipality level

If one wants to understand the local level of official government, it is unavoidable to shortly discuss the other levels of government too. Therefore, we will analyse the governmental system in a very general manner, from the highest level until the village level⁶. Indonesia has a democratic republic, which means that the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*) elects the President. The President is the chief of state, the chief of government and the highest military commander. Below the president there are the ministers or *Menteri*. He or she is an assistant of the President and is also appointed by the President. Each minister is the chief of a department. Below the ministries there are the provinces of Indonesia, lead by the *Gubernur*. The *Gubernur* and the deputy are chosen by the provincial parliament as a pair. The *Bupati* is the head of a district or *kabupaten*. In most districts, the parliament of the district chooses the *Bupati*, with the agreement of the Minister of Internal Affairs. The *Camat* is the chief of the sub-district or *kecamatan*. He is directly appointed by the *Bupati*. Therefore, the *Camat* is the only head of a governmental institution that is not democratically chosen. The city (*kota*) level, is governed by the *Walikota* or mayor. Continuing, there is the *Kepala Desa*, the head of a village. He is directly chosen by the vote of the villagers. A *Kepala Desa* can govern the village for five years, after which he can be re-elected. Below the village and city level, there are two more voluntary levels of authority, RW

⁶ Unless a different source is mentioned, the information on governmental levels and institutions in this paragraph is based on Alcorn & Antoinette, 2000

(*Rukun Warga*) and RT (*Rukun Tetangga*). These are local institutions for neighborhoods and clusters of households.

The Indonesian government classifies *desa* systems into a three-tiered system based on their state of development namely: *Desa Swadaya*, *Desa Swakarya* and *Desa Swasembada*. *Desa Swadaya* is a village which perpetuates the traditional ways of life and continues to exist in an *adat*⁷ (custom or tradition) sphere. *Desa Swakarya* is a village which has been influenced from outside and is able to manage its own village affairs, and *Desa Swasembada* is a village in which the people are dynamic enough to generate further development on their own (for more details see Habibie, 2003:93).

The research area lies within the borders of *desa* Sirnarasa, and was mainly executed in the *kampung* Ciptarasa. *Desa* Sirnarasa can be classified as a *Desa Swakarya*, because only a few *kampungs* within the area of *desa* Sirnarasa are fully inhabited by the traditional *Kasepuhan*. Most of the other *kampungs* are non-*Kasepuhan*. The traditional leader lives in another *desa* higher up in the mountains. This is *desa* Sirnaresmi, where almost all *kampungs* are traditional *Kasepuhan*. Consequently, *desa* Sirnaresmi can be classified as a *Desa Swadaya*.

The *desa* Act of 1979 states that a *desa* should have a *desa* council called *musyawarah*, a place for deliberation where the members of the council decide on all matters of community concern. The *desa* head or *Kepala Desa* also chairs another local institution, called Village Agency for Community Resilience (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa* or LKMD). This institution aims to enact community participation, work out annual *desa* plans and decide on costs, with the funding of *desa* members, supplemented with extra funds from the President's office (for more details see Habibie, 2003:93).

The head of the village is assisted by a secretary and a treasurer, who are both appointed by higher levels of government. The head of village, secretary and treasurer are assisted by four or five other village officials, such as the adviser of police, a messenger, an official for religious affairs and marriages and a man in charge of irrigation (derived from Hofsteede, 1971:52).

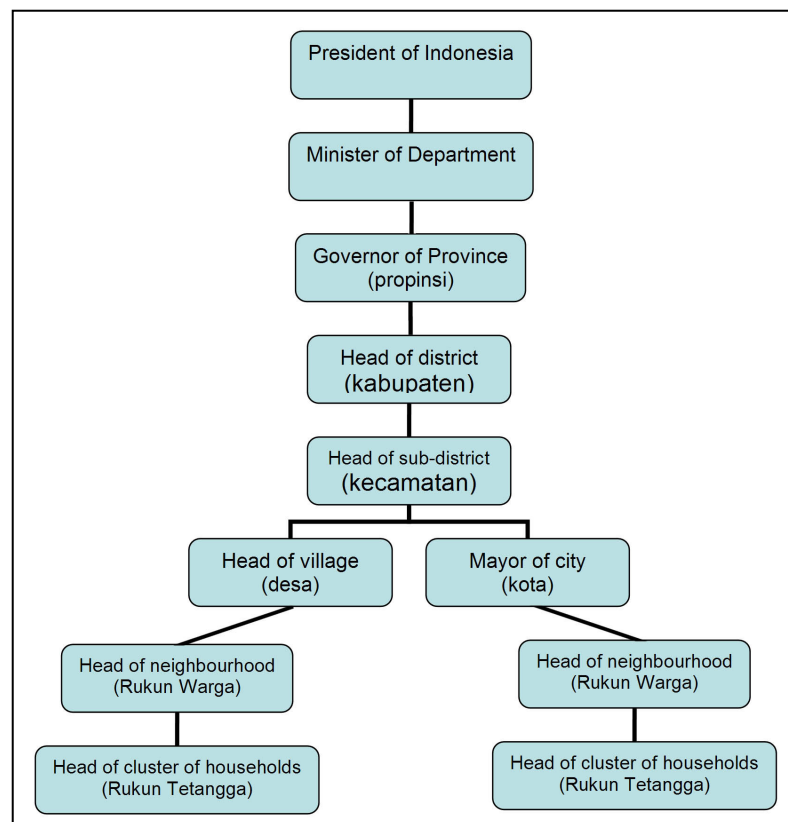


Figure 4.1: Organisational structure of the levels within the Indonesian government

⁷ See chapter one for a description of the concept of *adat*.

It can be concluded that this last official is the most relevant in relation to the utilisation and management of *sawahs* by the *Kasepuhan*. The official who is in charge of irrigation decides together with the traditional leaders of the *Kasepuhan* which *sawah* will be irrigated and for how long.

The Agency of Agriculture, Crops and Food is not involved in the organisation issues of the irrigation of *sawahs*. Yet they are involved in other issues considering the utilisation and management of *sawah* systems. Below, this institution is described in more detail.

4.3 Local official authority: the Agency of Agriculture, Crops and Food⁸

During the Suharto regime – lasting from 1965 until 1998 – the intensification programs for rice were coordinated by the Agency for Mass Guidance (*Badan Pengendali Bimbingan Massal*, or in short *BP Bimas*). The main goals of these intensification programs for rice were economical development. From the perspective of the centralised government, it was argued that the more rice could be produced, the more rice could be sold. This meant that farmers were pushed to a continuous and overall improvement of their methods and techniques used in the cultivation of *sawahs*. According to the Suharto regime, this would lead to more economical development and consequently to more welfare in Indonesia.

Although the *Bimas* programs have ended with the fall of the Suharto regime, the extension system through which the policy of the Suharto regime was implemented still exists. These extension services can be distinguished in the form of governmental institutions on different levels.

The Ministry of Agriculture operates and coordinates an array of provincial and district units to oversee and implement policies on agriculture. At the provincial level, there are provincial coordination offices, the head of each office being directly responsible to the Minister of Agriculture. At provincial level, there are also Agricultural Service (*dinas*) Offices, one for each of the four major commodity groups. These four groups are divided in food crops, estate crops, livestock and fisheries. Agricultural Service Offices are responsible to the provincial governor. At the district level (*kabupaten*), there are the same Agricultural Service Offices for each commodity. The head of this office is responsible to the *Bupati* or head of district. Below district level, there are local Rural Extension Centres, with the extension agents who are ‘in the field’ on a regular basis.

For this report, a number of officials from the office of the Agency of Agriculture, Crops and Food in the town of Pelabuhanratu were interviewed. Both the Agricultural Service Office on district level as the Rural Extension Centre on local level are located here.

During the *Bimas* programs, their main task was to push both non-*Kasepuhan* as *Kasepuhan* farmers in their district to intensify the rice production. For the *Kasepuhan* this meant that the Agency tried to make them switch from self-sufficiency – which implies one harvest a year – to rice as a commodity product, in other words harvesting two or more times a year. As mentioned above, this program was carried out in quite an intense manner. It concentrated on an overall change in the traditional methods and techniques of cultivating *sawahs*, as used by the *Kasepuhan* for hundreds of years. Although many other *Bimas* programs succeeded, for example the introduction and

⁸ Unless a different source is mentioned, the information in this paragraph is based on Mundy, 2003.

intensification of infrastructure, the intensification program for the traditional cultivation of rice by the *Kasepuhan* did not succeed.

Since 1998, the strategy of the Agency has changed. No longer do they aim at a total transformation of the traditional *sawah* systems of the *Kasepuhan*. It is focused on very specific details of the methods and techniques that are being used by the *Kasepuhan*. Increasing the production of rice is still a goal; however it concentrates on attempts by the Agency to introduce fertilisers (*pupuk*).

In the paragraph on the interaction between local authorities and traditional leadership, the current situation of the interference by the Agency of Agriculture, Crops and Food considering the traditional utilisation and management of *sawah* systems by the *Kasepuhan* will be worked out in more detail. First, we will concentrate on the way in which the leadership of the *Kasepuhan* is structured.

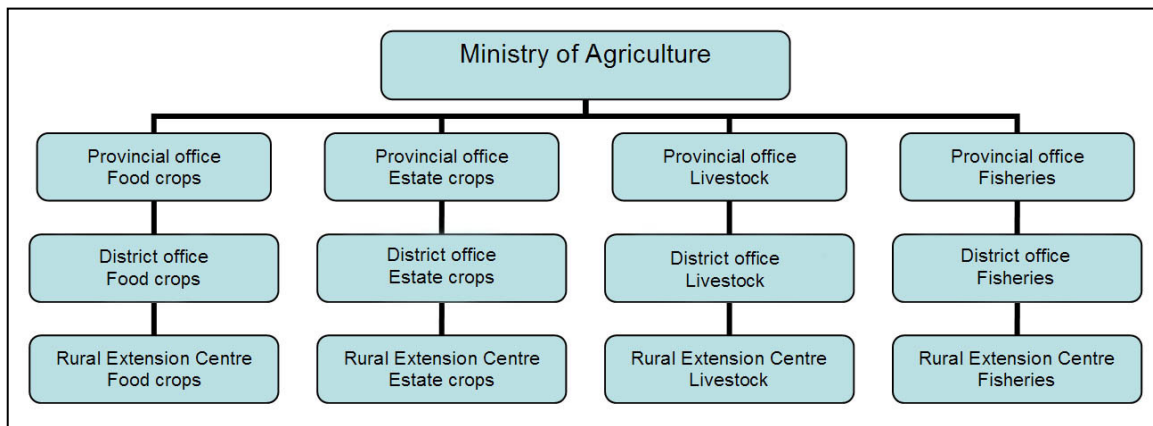


Figure 4.2: Organisational structure of agricultural institutions in Indonesia

4.4 The structure of *Kasepuhan* leadership

First, it is important to make clear to the reader that the information provided in this section is based on interviews in *desa* Sirnarasa, and the *kampung* Ciptarasa. Moreover, during the ceremonies in *desa* Sirnaresmi, *kampung* Ciptagelar, the opportunity was taken to also execute interviews here. Both villages, including tens of *kampungs*, are ruled by the same traditional leader, called Abah Anom. It could not be verified if the structure of traditional authority under the leader of Abah Anom is the same as in the other two areas of Cibadas and Cisungsang, which are ruled by other traditional leaders⁹.

Compared to the national government of Indonesia, the traditional ruling institution of the *Kasepuhan* has some similarities. The 'President' or overall traditional leader of the *Kasepuhan* has ministers or *sesepuh*. The difference is that these ministers do not have departments such as agriculture, or economic affairs. The department of these ministers is a *kampung* or small village. The *Sesepuh Kampung* is the leader of a small village, belonging to the same bloodline as Abah Anom. This implies that he has the authority in the village, with an emphasis on the food production on *sawahs*, *ladangs* and *kebuns*. Below the *Sesepuh Kampung*, there are seven assistants in each *kampung*. The first assistant in the hierarchy is the *Dukun Kasehatan*, an experienced medicine man with paranormal powers. The second assistant is the *Dukun Hewan*, an expert on material and immaterial issues around agriculture. Thirdly, there is the *Dukun Paraji*, which is a

⁹ See chapter three for a description of the *Kasepuhan* and the three traditional leaders.

woman that assists in the event of a birth. The fourth assistant is the *Perbakin*, a person who is responsible for the protection of agriculture, flora and fauna. He also leads the *Syukuran*, a ceremony for the protection of crops. Fifthly, the *Panghulu* is the person who assists in the event of a funeral. Lastly there are two assistants called *Bengkong Sunaat*. One of them is a male doctor, doing the circumcision ceremony for boys. The other is a female doctor, responsible for the circumcision of girls.

The institution of traditional leadership within the community of the *Kasepuhan* has been described now. In the next paragraph, we will focus specifically on the utilisation and management of traditional *sawah* systems, with regard to the two local official authorities on the one hand and traditional leadership on the other hand.

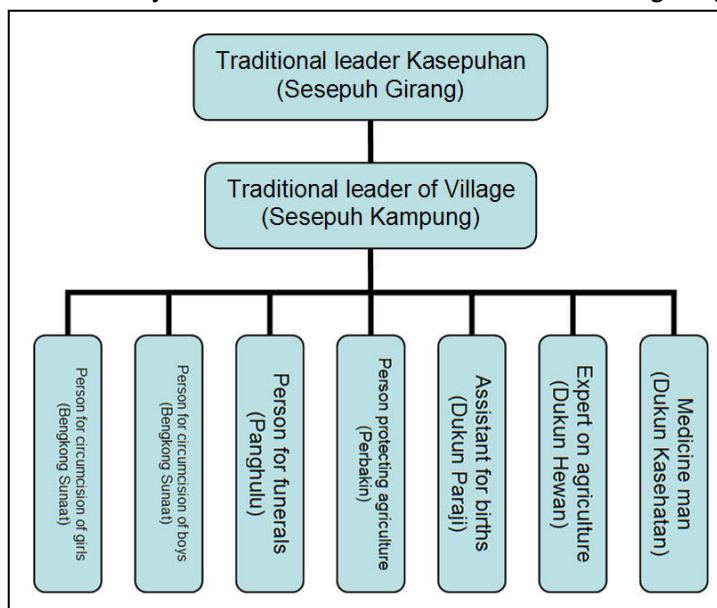


Figure 4.3: Organisational structure within the Kasepuhan community

4.5 The interaction between local authorities and traditional leaders

The traditional utilisation and management of *sawah* systems by the *Kasepuhan* is the central subject of many official and non-official meetings. There is communication between the highest traditional leader and the traditional village leaders, between the traditional village leaders and the local officials for the organisation of irrigation and there is communication between the Agricultural Extension Centre and the people of the *Kasepuhan* and their leaders on different levels. The communication between different institutions and groups on the utilisation and management is explained below.

Within the community of the *Kasepuhan*, Abah Anom, the highest traditional leader, eventually decides which *Kasepuhan* farmer can sow the *sawah* and when. He also decides about the timing of harvest. The legitimacy¹⁰ for these decisions by Abah Anom lies with the ancestors. In other words, in the perception of the people of the *Kasepuhan*, Abah Anom has the right to decide on these issues, because the ancestors have determined that he is their leader and that his choices are to be accepted. Moreover, Abah Anom is said to consult the ancestors for advice, with regard to the timing of sowing and harvesting.

Before the sowing period in October, the following institutional processes are taking place within the community of the *Kasepuhan*. After consulting the ancestors, Abah Anom calls the traditional leaders of the settlements together. During the meeting, the knowledge and advice of the ancestors are combined with the agricultural knowledge of Abah Anom and the other leaders. The agricultural knowledge is closely related to specific circumstances. The most essential factors are temperature, rain and altitude.

¹⁰ Consult chapter one for an explanation of the concept of legitimacy.

These factors are again decisive in the choices on the species of *padi* that are to be used. Such meetings are taking place five or six times a year.

After all decisions have been made, the traditional leader of each settlement returns home, and organise a meeting. Now, the assistants and the traditional leader of each settlement work out the sowing plan in a very detailed way. The consultation lasts for some days and is also a ceremony called *Pongokan*. During the ceremony, the people of the *Kasepuhan* are not allowed to work on the *sawahs*, *ladangs*, or *kebuns*.

Pongokan is also the period that a local official of the *desa* becomes involved in the decision making process. The official who is responsible for irrigation joins all meetings, and certainly has influence on this process. This can be explained by the fact that the *Kasepuhan* are living relatively high in the mountains. Consequently, they have access to severe amounts of irrigation water. Given this fact, the *Kasepuhan* do have a clear advantage in the cultivation of rice. It means that if the *Kasepuhan* farmers use too much irrigation water on their *sawahs*, the *sawahs* that are situated lower on the mountains do have less water. This problem exists only between October and April when the traditional *sawahs* are being cultivated, since non-traditional *sawahs* are being cultivated at the same time. Note that non-traditional *sawahs* are generally cultivated throughout the year. In short, from October until April, people simply need more irrigation water for their fields. Therefore it is of crucial importance that a clear plan is worked out by traditional leaders and local officials from the *desa* with regard to the planning of irrigation.

The Agricultural Service Office for Food Crops is not involved in the decision making process of irrigation, or other choices made by *Kasepuhan* leaders and *desa* officials that are directly related to the traditional cultivation of *sawahs*. However, they do have influence on the traditional utilisation and management of *sawahs* on the long term and in a more structural manner.

As said before, the Agricultural Service Offices throughout Indonesia do have a concrete policy focused on the intensification of rice production. During the Suharto administration from 1965 until 1998 this policy was implemented in a top-down way. All methods and techniques used for the cultivation of *sawahs* were to be improved continuously to fulfil the development goals of Suharto.

Interviews with *Kasepuhan* farmers and traditional *Kasepuhan* leaders, and interviews with official from the Agricultural Service Office, make clear that the goals are still the same, but that the ways of achieving these goals have changed.

No longer does the Agricultural Service Office focus on an overall and rigorous increase in the traditional rice production by the *Kasepuhan*. Since 1998, the Agency tries to influence the traditional utilisation of *sawahs* by the *Kasepuhan* in three specific ways.

The first strategy is rather clear: on a regular basis they stress the advantages for the *Kasepuhan* community to switch to a cultivation system of more than one harvest a year. Second, they are trying to convince both the traditional leaders as the *Kasepuhan* farmers to try out new species of *padi*. Note that the *Kasepuhan* use their own species of *padi*, that are adapted to their traditional utilisation of *sawahs*. To be more concrete, it means that these species are slow growing, and flourish in environments on a high altitude. Moreover, these '*Kasepuhan-species*' of *padi*, are said to be of a very high quality. This is confirmed by both *Kasepuhan* and non-*Kasepuhan* farmers. The last group does not have access to these high quality species, but quite regularly they consult traditional leaders of the *Kasepuhan* in order to try and buy '*Kasepuhan-padi*' for non-*Kasepuhan sawahs*.

Thus, in order to intensify traditional rice production the Agricultural Service Office confronts the *Kasepuhan* farmers and their leaders with new, fast growing species of *padi*. In this manner they hope that the *Kasepuhan* community sees the advantage of being able to produce more rice. Eventually, this has to convince the *Kasepuhan* to switch from one harvest per year, to two or more harvests a year. This would then lead to rice with a double function: first to produce food for self-sufficiency and second to generate money with selling the surplus of the overall harvest. The higher the surplus, the more money will be generated. According to the Agricultural Service Office this will help in reducing the poverty among the *Kasepuhan*, and improve their economical welfare.

The third strategy of the Service Office to intensify the traditional production of rice is by showing the *Kasepuhan* farmers and their leaders the advantage of fertilisers or *pupuk*. Logically, fertilisers increase the growing process of *padi*. But the *Kasepuhan*-species of *padi* do not react that well in combination with fertilisers, compared to the new species of *padi* that the Service Office is trying to introduce.

It can be concluded that the first strategy – which is quite logically the most important to the Service Office – is combined with the second and third strategy, in order to change the traditional utilisation of *sawahs* by the *Kasepuhan*. The effects of this policy are hard to measure. However, there are indeed a number of *ex-Kasepuhan* farmers that have left the traditional community. In line with the point of view of the Service Agency, they have switched to a cultivation system of two or three harvests a year. Note that on average, *sawahs* in Indonesia are being cultivated four or five times a year. In the concluding chapter the consequences for these farmers are shortly described.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter three institutions have been described, with the intention of making the interaction clear between these institutions and the impact they have on the traditional cultivation of *sawahs* by the *Kasepuhan*.

First, we concentrated on the different levels of official government in Indonesia. For this research the local level of the *desa* or village is relevant, with special reference to the official on irrigation. Second, the different levels of the Agricultural Service Offices were analysed, with the Ministry of Agriculture at the highest level and the Rural Extension Centres at the local level. Third, we had a look at the structures within the 'traditional government' of the *Kasepuhan*.

It became clear that the highest traditional leader of the *Kasepuhan* decides the timing of sowing and harvesting, in consultation with the ancestors firstly and secondly with the traditional leaders of all settlements. Considering irrigation, the official of the *desa* and the traditional leader of each settlement construct a plan for the timing of irrigation of *sawahs* and the amounts of water that can be used.

The Agricultural Service Office is not involved in the direct utilisation and management of traditional *sawah* systems by the *Kasepuhan*. This institution tries to have influence on the longer term. This is done in three ways: first to generally convince the *Kasepuhan* of the advantage of switching from one harvest per year to two or more harvests per year. More specifically the Service Office promotes the introduction of new, fast growing species of *padi* and the application of fertilisers in the process of cultivation. This policy might have some effects, in the sense that some *Kasepuhan* farmers have left the *Kasepuhan* community. These farmers have indeed switched to the production of rice as a commodity product.

Chapter five

Conclusions

In this chapter we will combine the theoretical and mythological issues with the research data gathered in the field, with the purpose of answering the three research questions. The first question to be answered is if the modernisation policy of the Indonesian authorities altered the traditional wet rice cultivation of the *Kasepuhan*. The second question is: if the modernisation policy changed the traditional *sawah* cultivation, how did the modernisation policy change the traditional wet rice cultivation, and how where these changes set in motion by the 'government'? And finally the third question: is there a certain pressure on the way in which the people of the *Kasepuhan* traditionally cultivate their wet rice fields, caused by the local official authorities on the one hand, and their traditional leader on the other hand?

Chapter one made clear that the highest traditional leader of the *Kasepuhan*, called Abah Anom, is granted with an almost unlimited legitimacy with regard to his leadership and policy. The people of the *Kasepuhan* accept this leadership in the perception that their highest leader is chosen by their ancestors, and that his policy is very much determined by the same ancestors. For the survival of the traditional way of life of the *Kasepuhan* in general, and for the subsistence of him as the leader, it is of crucial importance that the people *Kasepuhan* continue their traditional way of cultivating *sawahs*. Note that the traditional cultivation of *sawahs* is the main identity of the *Kasepuhan*.

The Agricultural Service Office is still practicing their policy of changing the traditional cultivation of self-sufficiency towards rice as a commodity product. In the era of Suharto this happened in a very structured and rigorous manner. All aspects of traditional *sawah* cultivation were to be changed. Since the fall of the regime, decentralisation is commonly used as a tool to transfer responsibility from higher levels of government to lower levels. The Service Office still tries to influence the traditional methods and techniques used by the *Kasepuhan*. As a consequence of decentralisation, the *Kasepuhan* are confronted more often with the Service Office. The Service Office tries to make clear to the *Kasepuhan* and their leaders what the advantages are of switching to two or more harvests per year. This is specifically done by attempts to introduce new species of *padi* and the introduction of fertilisers.

According to the customary laws of *adat*, the tradition of only one harvest per year is a fixed fact. Again, it is the keystone and identity of the *Kasepuhan* community. The ancestors, and consequently the highest traditional leader and the traditional leaders of the settlements will not tolerate such a rigorous change in the utilisation of *sawahs*. However, interviews show that younger generations of the *Kasepuhan* community are less opposed towards changes in the traditional cultivation, but this is simply not allowed by *adat*. Some people from the younger generations do indeed leave the community to start the cultivation of rice as a commodity product or go and live a modern life in the city.

Thus, switching to a commodity system of rice cultivation does happen. But it implies a permanent renouncement of all *Kasepuhan* traditions. In this case a farmer is not allowed to live within the territory of the *Kasepuhan*. The surplus of the harvest can be sold though, which might imply the generating of some money and a better way of life in a financial sense. On the other hand, if a harvest fails, there is no support of the traditional leader or the *Kasepuhan* community. Moreover, leaving the *Kasepuhan*

community also means living in the lower areas of the mountains, and thus less access to irrigation water. Within the community, there is far more cooperation between *Kasepuhan* farmers considering the cultivation of *sawahs*. Chapter four made also clear that the choices for sowing, irrigation and harvesting are decided by the traditional leaders of the *Kasepuhan*. Through consultation these choices are likely to be balanced out and well considered. Lastly, the possibilities for *Kasepuhan* farmers considering the creation of a new *sawah* are easier. With permission of the highest traditional leader, some forest can be cleaned, with only the costs of a 'social tax'. For a non-*Kasepuhan* farmer, this is virtually impossible, since permission of the official authorities is very hard to get. Indeed, stepping out of the community means that a farmer has more independence but also many more uncertainties with regard to the cultivation of *sawahs*.

It seems right to conclude that the people of the *Kasepuhan* are squeezed between their tradition and *adat* on one side, and the attractiveness of more financial welfare on the other side. This might be influenced by the effects of decentralisation. As has been discussed in chapter one, two different institutions – an official one and a traditional one – are maintaining different (traditional) laws and different (traditional) rules considering the utilisation and management of *sawahs*.

For 'outsiders', the people of the *Kasepuhan* might seem very poor. This is true in an economical perspective, but one should not forget that there is almost always enough food for everyone within the community. An official institution such as the Agricultural Service Office is possibly focused too much on the economical perspective – although with well-meant intentions – and too less on the reasons why the *Kasepuhan* live their life in this specific way. Moreover, there are also large international institutions that share the ideas of the Service Office. The customary laws of *adat*, the legitimacy of power of the highest traditional leader and the certainties that the community provides for individuals, are the reasons for *Kasepuhan* farmers to continue their traditional utilisation of *sawahs*. The official institutions do not seem to understand that their efforts to economically develop the traditional *sawah* system, are likely to fail. In other words, these official institutions do not seem to be able to understand the logics behind the *Kasepuhan* way of life – seen from the perspective of the *Kasepuhan* themselves.

The *Kasepuhan* have experienced many changes with quite some impact during the last decades, as a result of the modernisation policies of Suharto. In less than twenty years they were confronted with the introduction of electricity, through which radios and some televisions were introduced too. New roads have been made, and small tracks through the forests were made wide enough for cars. The 'welfare' on television could not only be seen and listened to; it could now also be reached. Indeed, the life of the *Kasepuhan* has certainly changed in several ways. But the keystone and identity of their tradition, the traditional utilisation and management of *sawahs*, has survived these changes. It can be explained by the full belief in traditional customary law of *adat*, their powerful traditional leader, and the certainties that the *Kasepuhan* community offers to their members. In this sense, the future of the *Kasepuhan* and their way of life seems to be guaranteed in quite a unique manner.

Epilogue

In this final part of the report, I would like to give a personal reflection on the experience of the five months that I spent in Indonesia. I will shortly discuss on the lessons I have learned, the things that went well and the things that have to be done better next time. I will also review some problems that I experienced while being 'in the field'. It has to be mentioned here that the first part of this epilogue exists of personal lessons and the second part of educational lessons.

First of all, I must confess that my passion is not really focused on doing anthropological research. However, I am convinced that one should be open minded, not only in thinking, but also in acting. Going to Indonesia was the first time for me to go to a developing country. Quite soon, when I arrived in Jakarta, I was confronted with a totally different culture. Moreover, the differences between 'the poor' and 'the rich' people are overwhelming. I will never forget this one man, lying literally in the gutter with hardly any clothes on his body. To be quite honest, I was wondering if this man was still alive. But seeing other people's misery is undoubtedly a fact with which you have to deal with in Indonesia every now and then.

Staying with the people of the *Kasepuhan* also confronted me almost each day with the differences between rich and poor. Numerous times people remembered me: 'you are rich and we are poor'. In the beginning this is quite hard to listen to. A number of times I tried to explain that the term 'poorness' can be seen as a quite relative concept. When I told them that there are also poor people in the Netherlands – according to our Western standards – they just would not believe me. And when I told them that poor people in the Netherlands would be rich in Indonesia, they just stared at me without understanding anything of what I said.

Naturally there were other difficulties while being in Indonesia. One of the obstacles was language, especially in the beginning. During my preparations for the research in the Netherlands, I followed only a minor course in *Bahasa Indonesia*. When I arrived, it appeared that I was not able at all to have a decent conversation, let alone a professional interview. Luckily, the basics of the Indonesian language on the streets is not that hard, so in the end I managed to deal with this problem. In West-Java however, the first language is Sunda, which is totally different from Bahasa Indonesia, the second language. Therefore, considering the language, living with the *Kasepuhan* was quite hard in the beginning.

Another thing I found hard in the beginning was the total lack of privacy. It made me realise that I was very much used to privacy, without really knowing it. Apparently, we can afford a quite individual way of life in the Netherlands. We can simply choose whether we want company or not. In Indonesia this is not possible at all, probably because people are in many ways dependent on each other to make a living. Together with the funny habit of Indonesian people to be curious, this made it sometimes hard to work out field notes, while children and even adolescents continuously grabbed away my writing pad to have a look at it, even though they could not understand the writing.

Considering the research, I realised that having a notebook is very handy, in order to find back information easily, and to save time writing my report. On the other hand, electricity was only scarcely available where I lived. But it would have been handy to work out the field notes in the city, every two weeks or so.

Considering interviewing, I realised only afterwards that the interviews that were supposed to be semi-structured, were often unstructured. With the processing of the gathered information this caused some trouble because it was sometimes not possible

to compare interviews. This has undoubtedly lead to a decrease of validity of the research. Next time, I have to pay more attention to this, while spending my time in the field.

But I also found out a strategy to check some information provided by the *Kasepuhan*. Every two weeks, I went back to a town at sea-level, called Pelabuhanratu. Each time I selected some information that I was not totally sure about. This absolutely lead to new insights in the life of the *Kasepuhan*. In this way I was able to discover the real face behind the mask of the *Kasepuhan*. To be more precise, without this strategy I would not have been possible to conclude that the *Kasepuhan* are in fact more Hindu than Islam. In this case, the mask is Islam, and the face is Hindu.

Naturally, this is only a short summary of everything I learned. Assumably one does not always notice the lessons learned and the experience gained, until the first time that circumstances demand that they will be used again. Only in those new situations it becomes clear that those lessons and such experience from the past are truly priceless.

Wageningen, February 2006

Bas Bolman

Glossary of terms

In the Indonesian and Sunda language

Adat	-	A set of maintained, sacred rules
Badan Pengendali Bimbingan Massl	-	Agency for Mass Guidance (Suharto era)
Baduy	-	A totally isolated traditional group, W-Java
Bengkong Sunaat	-	Person responsible for circumcision
Bujuts	-	Taboo
Bupati	-	Head of a district
Camat	-	Head of a sub-district
Desa	-	Village (with local authority)
Desa Swadaya	-	Traditional village with <i>adat</i> as local law
Desa Swakarya	-	Non-traditional village ruled by official law
Desa Swasembada	-	Non-traditional village, generating own dev.
Dinas Pertanian Tanaman Pangan	-	Agency of Agriculture, Crops and Food
Dukun Hewan	-	Local expert on issues around agriculture
Dukun Kasehatan	-	Medicine man with paranormal powers
Dukun Paraji	-	Woman assisting in the event of births
Gubernur	-	Governor
Ilmu macan	-	Knowledge of the tiger (Pajajaran)
Kampung	-	Small village (rural) / neighbourhood (city)
Kabupaten	-	District (as a level of government)
Karuhun	-	Ancient tribal leader of the <i>Kaepuhan</i>
Kebun komunitas	-	Small kitchen garden used by a village
Kebun	-	Small private kitchen garden
Kecamatan	-	Sub-district (as a level of government)
Kepala Desa	-	Head of a village
Kepala Suku	-	Leader of a traditional social group
Kota	-	City
Ladang	-	Dry rice cultivation on a slope
Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat D.	-	Village agency for community resilience
Leuit	-	Small bamboo hut for the storage of rice
Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat	-	People's Consultative Assembly
Menteri	-	Minister
Musyawarah	-	Official council on village level
Nyalametkeun	-	Traditional Sunda circumcision ceremony
Padi	-	Rice being cultivated on a sawah or ladang
Pajajaran	-	Hindu kingdom, 14 th until 16 th century
Panghulu	-	Person assisting in event of a funeral
Perbakin	-	Person protecting agriculture, flora, fauna
Pongokan	-	Ceremony prior to <i>sawah</i> utilisation
Provinsi	-	Province
Pupuk	-	Fertiliser
Reformasi	-	1998 revolution, causing the fall of Suharto
Rukun Tetangga	-	Voluntary level of authority below <i>desa</i> level
Rukun Warga	-	Voluntary level of authority below <i>desa</i> level
Sawah	-	Wet rice cultivation
Sepuh	-	Old (included in the name <i>Kasepuhan</i>)
Sesepuh Girang	-	Leader of a tribe

Sesepuh Kampung	-	Leader of a <i>kampung</i>
Syukuran	-	Ceremony for the protection of crops
Tebar	-	Ceremony prior to the utilisation of a sawah
Walikota	-	Mayor of a city
Warung	-	Small shop situated along the street

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Pictures and maps:

Front page: picture taken by Bas Bolman, south-side of Ciptarasa, November 2004

Picture of Abah Anom: taken by Bas Bolman, Ciptagelar, January 2005

Map of Indonesia: derived from www.expedia.com

Map of Java: derived from www.expedia.com

Map of Gunung Halimun: derived from www.expedia.com

Community house Kasepuhan: taken by Bas Bolman, Ciptagelar, January 2005

Picture of sawah fields: taken by Bas Bolman, near Cisarua, December 2004

Picture of traditional custom of *Tebar*: taken by Bas Bolman, Ciptarasa, November 2004